

A B R I E F
E X A M I N A T I O N
O F T H E
Q U E S T I O N

Whether it is expedient either in a
RELIGIOUS or POLITICAL VIEW,
to pass

An Act to enable Papists to take
Real Securities for Money which
they may Lend.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

D U B L I N :

Printed by S. POWELL, in *Dame-street*, oppo-
site *Fownes's-street*, M DCC LXIV.

EXAMINATION

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TO discuss this Question fully and clearly, it is necessary to consider the Act proposed in two Lights; as a Benefit jointly to Papists and Protestants, or to Protestants only; that it is for the Benefit of Papists, at least in common with Protestants, every reasonable Being would instantly determine, if its Advocates had not sometimes pretended the contrary, and asserted that it would rather cooperate with, than counteract any Law now in Force for preventing the Growth of Popery, and lessening the Power of Papists to injure the State; yet at other Times they say that those who oppose the Bill are guilty of Persecution, and that the Papists, contributing to the Strength and Riches of the State by their Numbers,

bers, should no longer be excluded, in so great a Degree as at present, from Benefits enjoyed by other Members of the same Community.

In the first place then, considering the Act as a Benefit to Papists, it is necessary to state the Right of the Community to with-hold it, and to justify the Rejection of this Bill, if it should appear that for political Reasons it ought to be rejected, as well as the Laws now in Force against Popery, from the Charge of Persecution.

To persecute is to punish for Opinions merely speculative, or relative wholly to the Individual, and intirely without Influence on his Conduct to others; such Opinions are common both to Protestants and Papists, as the Necessity of supernatural Grace, and the Intercession of Saints; the Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation.

Punishment may be either negative or positive, it is negative when it intercepts some Good, positive when it inflicts some Evil. Both these Punishments may be inflicted on Persons holding Opinions dangerous to the Community and subversive of the Government, without incurring the Charge of Persecution.

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It is true indeed, that Opinion is involuntary, and that it seems severe and even absurd to punish Men for what they cannot help; yet a Moment's Consideration will shew that it is not only expedient but just: Among other horrid Follies, that have been sanctified by the Name of Religion, Men have thought it their Duty to offer human Sacrifices, and that the Merit was enhanced if the Victims were their Children; Supposing any Sect to subsist among us who believed it their Duty to kidnap and sacrifice all the Infants under four Years old that they could lay their Hands upon; can any Man in his Senses suppose that the Government ought to wait 'till this Opinion is carried gradually into Execution, and punish the Sect only for the Murders they shall actually commit! Would not the Government itself be answerable for these Murders, if they did not banish for ever upon Pain of Death, all who entertained the Opinions that produced them? And would not he who should complain of such Measures as Persecution, be derided by every wise Man, and detested by every good Man in the World? Yet this Opinion would be involuntary in those who held it, and they might in *foro Conscientia*, be very good

good Men, doing Nothing but what they sincerely believed to be their Duty, and what they could not omit without incurring the Remorse and Self-accusation of a violated, though erroneous Conscience. Nobody can doubt but that many Gentlemen, who suffered in the last Rebellion, acted upon Principle, and even gave Proof of their Virtue when they were attempting to subvert the State; yet nobody doubts that they were bad Subjects, though good Men; and, that though they contracted no Guilt in the Sight of God, yet that they were Traytors to their Prince, and that they suffered justly by all Laws of all States upon Earth.

Thus the Fallacy is demonstrated, both by Reason and Facts, of the Notion that all Infliction of even positive Punishment for Opinion, or for Actions, in Consequence of Opinion, which therefore cannot incur personal Guilt, is Persecution, and contrary to sound Jurisprudence.

With Respect to negative Punishment, the Case is much more simple and evident. Our Ancestors, the *Druids*, had a profound Reverence for the Mistletoe of the Oak, and conceived some
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very mysterious Notions about it: Suppose any Sect was to start up among us, who declared it to be their Opinion, that whenever they could seize an ~~open~~ ^{open} Plant, it became not only lawful, but their Duty, to knock down the next Man they met of a contrary Persuasion; Would not the State be justified in prohibiting them from having any such Instruments in their Possession, under the severest Penalties, notwithstanding any particular Inconvenience, however great, the Want of it might be to them.

If the State therefore is justified in punishing those who hold Opinions contrary to its Safety and Well-being, nothing more is necessary to prove that we may at least withhold some national Advantages from Papists, without incurring the Charge of Persecution, than to shew that Popery necessarily includes Notions contrary to the Safety and Well-being of a Protestant State, under a Prince who owes his Succession to the Abdication and Exclusion of a Popish King.

It is in the first Place, too notorious to be denied, that the Papists of *Ireland* are taught by their Priests, from their earliest Infancy, that they can never enjoy the free Exercise of their
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Religion, and be admitted to all the Advantages of other Subjects, until the Reins of Government are in Popish Hands. As they consider their Restraint in Religion, and their Exclusion from national Advantages, to be not only their own Cause, but the Cause of God, they naturally infer, and indeed are expressly taught, that it is their Duty, as well as Interest, to subvert the Government by which this Restraint and Exclusion must, in the Nature of Things, be continued. Indeed, as it is every Man's highest Interest to do his Duty, Interest and Duty cannot properly be separated as Motives acting different Ways; and much can never be hoped from him who can be a good Subject only by becoming in his own Opinion a bad Man, and by sacrificing a higher to a subordinate Interest, the Hope of Salvation to a temporary Advantage.

It must also be remembered, that this Reasoning is supported by Facts, by the strongest and most reiterated Facts, universal Experience; no Papist was ever yet known to continue a Papist, and be at the same Time a loyal Subject, whatever temporal Advantage might tempt him so to be; no Papist has ever yet been known to take the Oaths of Abjuration and Allegiance, which
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is the strongest Evidence of the Mistake of those who pretend they are willing to take them; and many *English* Papists who had Grants of Land in this Kingdom, which they knew they would forfeit by any Act of Rebellion, and which were therefore Pledges in the Hands of Government, for their Negative Loyalty at least, did notwithstanding join in the two late great Rebellions of this Kingdom, and did actually forfeit such Land.


It is true that several Steps have been taken by some of the Popish Clergy, which might lead us to believe that they were well affected to our Protestant Government; but whether they were sincere or not, it is now known that in the very *Profession* they went too far, and received a severe Reprimand from their Superiors, of which the following is reported as an Instance :

When the deluded Wretches, called *White-Boys*, made so much Disturbance in the Southern Parts of this Kingdom, seven of the Popish Bishops signed a Paper, and sent it to the Lord Lieutenant; in which they set forth, that his Majesty should be prayed for, in all the Chapels of their Diocesses, and subscribed themselves

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loyal Subjects : But the Pope's Legate, or titular Primate, such being always resident in this Kingdom, coming to the Knowledge of what they had done, put them under Ecclesiastical Censure; in Consequence of which, they applied to the Lord Lieutenant, intreating to have their Paper returned, which he refused. Can there be a stronger Proof that a Papist, consistent with his Principles, and the Duties, and Discipline of his Religion, cannot, in *Ireland*, be a loyal Subject, or take Oaths of Allegiance to the Protestant Prince under whose Government he lives ?

 If a Papist, as such, cannot but be disposed from Duty, and his highest Interest, to subvert the Government; it follows that he should be trusted with no Power that will enable him to put this Disposition into Practice; and that Laws for with-holding from him such Power cannot come under the Denomination of Persecution.

It remains now to be shewn, that the Bill in Question will give him back some Degree of such Power, which our wise and virtuous Forefathers thought it necessary to with-hold.

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In Consequence of this Bill passed into a Law, the following Facts will happen, and the following Consequences will inevitably ensue.

1st. More Money will be lent by Papists to Protestants ; the influence of the Creditor over the Debtor is not less forcibly felt, than generally acknowledged. *Addison* has observed that the moment a Man becomes a Debtor he becomes a Slave ; this Bill is a Project to encrease the Number of Protestant Debtors to Popish Creditors, at least it is a Project which professedly tends to this Effect, for with what View can a Law be made to give the Papist Security for Money lent, but that the Papist should lend his Money ? this being the Case, an irrefragable Argument against the Bill may be formed by the following three Propositions.

The Bill is a Project which tends to make Protestants Debtors to Papists ;

But every Debtor is a Slave to his Creditor.

The Bill therefore is a Project which tends to make Protestants Slaves to Papists. By Debtor, however, in this Sense, is not meant every Man that owes Money, but every Man only who owes Money that he cannot conveniently pay, and these are the Men which by this Act will be made in the slavish Sense of the Word Debtors to Papists, as appears by the very Bill itself; for every Man who mortgages his Land becomes a Debtor upon very different Terms, and with very different Views from the Merchant who takes up Goods upon Credit to whatever Amount, or draws upon his Correspondent to whom he gives mutual Credit in his Turn. The very Remedy given the Papists by the Bill, shews that the Debt is so circumstanced as to make a Remedy necessary. This fatal Influence will appear still stronger and and plainer upon descending to Particulars.

Can it be supposed, that a Justice of Peace will exert himself in the Execution of his Office against Papists and Popish Recusants, if he is indebted to a Papist Creditor, who will have it in his Power to cry out *in Terrorem, my Bond! give me my Bond!* will not the Influence of the Papist Creditor be exerted

ted in Proportion as the Execution of the Office to be restrained, is important? and will not the Debtor therefore be inactive in Proportion as his Activity is necessary for the publick Safety? If the Debtor has heroic Virtue enough to incur the Creditor's utmost Resentment by discharging his Duty, this will not secure his Country from sharing in his Misfortune, for the Papist Creditor may extend that very part of his Debtor's Estate, where he was exercising his Authority, which must necessarily abridge his Influence, or he may lock up the Magistrate in a Prison, and a total End will then be put to his Activity of Course.

The Case that is here supposed, has actually happened in a well known Instance; for *Justin Mac-Carty*, meerly by the Number of Protestants that were his Debtors, kept all Persons of that Religion in Awe, throughout the whole County where he lived, and effectually prevented them by mere intimidation from putting any of the Popish Laws in Execution for some Years.

2dly, By this Bill if passed into a Law, Popish Creditors will come into the actual Possession of Lands and Tenements, as Tenants by *Elegit*; whether

whether they will be able under Colour of this Act collusively to get a larger Possession, or more durable Property, it is not necessary to inquire ; as Tenants by *Elegit*, supposing them to hold only half the estate of the Conusor, their Power and Influence will be encreased to a dangerous degree as it has been proved, that their Power and Influence will always be used against us.

Not one single Foot of Land of which a Papist should obtain Possession in Consequence of this Act, as Tenant by *Elegit* would have a Protestant Tenant upon it. This Assertion, bold as it is, will not be thought ill founded by those who know that there is not one Papist who has a landed Interest in the Kingdom, that has so much as a single Protestant Tenant upon his Estate. The same Motives still operating and all external Circumstances being the same, the same Effects must be produced. It may be said perhaps, that the Tenant by *Elegit* will find Protestants already upon the Premises, who have long Leases and who therefore must continue in Possession ; but those Persons know very little of the Power a Landlord has over his Tenants, or the Effects which a skilful Management of that Power will produce, who imagine that it will be difficult for
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him to make the Tenant chuse to sell or perhaps throw up his Lease, as much the least of two Evils. Popish Neighbours under the Protection of a Popish Landlord, have many ways of making the Situation of a Protestant among them too troublesome to be endured.

In this Instance also, the Argument is supported by Facts; for it is notorious, that Protestants in Popish Neighbourhoods have concurred in their Measures though contrary to their general Interest, because they did not dare to do otherwise.

In Consequence of a great Quantity of Land being tenanted by Papists, which is now tenanted by Protestants, the Protestants will be turned a Drift, or perhaps profess themselves Papists, or marry Popish Wives, and the lower Class of Papists will gain Settlements, will marry and increase; so that this particular alone would throw a Weight into the Scale of Popery, which would be very formidable in itself, but the Influence of which is doubled by its being taken out of the Scale at the other End of the Beam.

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But not wholly to rest in general Terms, let the Degree of Influence to be gained by Papists in consequence of their lending Money to Protestants, and becoming Tenants by Elegit of half their Estates be particularly considered. It is said by some of the *Advocates for the Bill* in Question, that *One fifth*, and by others, that *One third* of all the Specie in the Kingdom is in the Hands of Papists, and that the Bill is necessary to enable them to dispose of it, which at present they have no Means of doing, by lending it to Protestants : Protestants therefore will become Debtors to Papists in a Sum equal to one fifth, or as some say to one third of the Specie in the Kingdom, and they may at length come into Possession as Tenants by Elegit of Lands, now possessed by Protestants, to nearly that Value.

It is granted that the Conusor (the Debtor) may redeem, but it is also well known, that the Agreement between the Debtor and Creditor, may be so managed, as that neither the Debtor nor his Heir can redeem without such Loss as will make the Redemption a moral, though not a physical Impossibility, so that the Land held by the Papist as Tenant by Elegit will be a Perpetuity out of the Influence of the Popery Laws,
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though not having all the Advantages of a real Estate.

It is also granted, that the Tenant by Elegit can neither sell nor mortgage the Lands he so holds, but only transfer the Security : But it is manifest that a Transfer of the Security will answer the same Purposes with this Difference only, that it will still ensure the Possession of the Land to Papists, for a Protestant who can hold by a more eligible Tenure will not hold under this, but a Papist will always gladly hold under this, because he can hold under no other. It has been said, that the tenant by Elegit, cannot make Leases for a Time certain, because they must determine with his Interest; but as it has been shewn that his Interest will be perpetual by the Inability of the Debtor or his Representatives to redeem, without such Loss as no Man will voluntarily suffer, the Lease will eventually be permanent. The Difference, if any, between a Lease of such Land and a Lease of other Land, will still concur with the Rules, Practice, and Principles of the Papists, to confine their Lands to Popish Tenants ; and let it here be repeated, there is

scarce a single Instance of a Papist, having let a Lease to a Protestant, hired a Protestant Servant, or even employed a Protestant Tradesman, when a Papist one could be got.

As a farther Proof of the Advantage and Power Papists would derive from this Bill, it must be considered, that Lands held as Tenant by Elegit, are not liable to any Popery Laws that affect the real Estates of Papists; they are not liable to the Gavel Act, nor will Protestant Children be intitled to a Maintenance out of them.

Since these are the certain Consequences of what is on all Hands acknowledged, the Bill in Question will Effect; and what it is framed expressly to Effect, the Refutation of the Pretence that it will co-operate with the Spirit of the Popery Laws, is precluded; this Pretence however to cut off all Subterfuge shall be farther examined.

The whole that has been said to prove that this Bill will co-operate with the Spirit of the Popery Laws, consists of Arguments to prove, that the Interest of the Papist will be more united with the Interest of the State, and that the State will

will also have a Pledge in its Hand for the Papist's good Behaviour: This will be readily admitted, and therefore the Particulars need not be mentioned; but those who alledge these Facts as Arguments for the Bill, take for granted, that the Papists will sacrifice religious Principle to Interest, which is denied, and may be refuted to Demonstration.

How! cries our zealous and sagacious Opponent, will you pretend that a Religion which you suppose to be false, will produce a Conduct superior to that which results from a Religion which you believe to be true! can you persuade us, that a Papist will steadily act upon Principle whatever Loss or Disadvantage he may incur, when we know too well that Protestants, sacrifice their Principle to Gain and Advantage every Day! Patience one Moment, Sir, and you shall be enabled to answer your Queries yourself; that the Papist in *Ireland* makes his Interest subservient to his Duty, and the Protestant makes too often his Duty subservient to his Interest is true; but in the Papist this is not the Effect of his being a Member of the Church of *Rome*, but of his being a Sectary in a Protestant Country. Those who have not the Cause of their Religion at

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Heart, fall of Course into the nominal Profession of the Country in which they live : A Papist in a Popish Country may be only nominally so, and be wholly indifferent about all religious Principles and Duties, but no Man in *Ireland* who is indifferent about religious Principles and Duties is a Papist nominally ; the nominal Papist in *Ireland* is a Papist in Fact, he has not the Name but the Essence of his Religion ; and however he may err in his Morals, he is always a sincere Papist, as to his Tenets, and by the very Profession of that Religion, he gives a publick, a constant, and an indubitable Test that he will sacrifice Interest to what he believes to be his Duty by doing so already : Does he not already incur all the Loss and Disadvantage of the Popery Laws, so much complained of, for the Sake of his Religion, without any Prospect of Benefit, except that arising from the Consciousness of his Integrity ? And will this Man at once sacrifice this Integrity to his Interest, when an Opportunity offers, or when he thinks an Opportunity offers of redeeming the Church, of which he is a Member, out of Bondage, and at all Events, obtaining for himself the superlative Merit of acting as a Champion in her Cause !

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Many Queries have also been asked tending to prove that the Papist will not gain more by this Bill than is intended; and that the Protestant will gain as much, if not more, than the Papist, both on a private and a national account.

As to the first, it may, without Scruple, be granted, that the Papist will gain only what it is intended he should gain, since it has been irrefragably proved, that what he is intended to gain, is more than is consistent with the public Security, and is what sound Jurisprudence and good Policy must concur to deny him.

If so, it is absurd to imagine, that the Protestant can be a Gainer upon the Whole; "What shall it profit a Man, if he gain the whole World and lose his own Soul?" What shall it profit a Protestant, or a Protestant State, if some waste Lands are cultivated, some necessitous Persons assisted with Money, some Branches of Trade improved, while the very Measure that procures these Advantages tends to subvert the very Being of the Constitution, both in Church and State, by giving Influence, Power, and Populousness to a Sect, which is, and cannot but

but be Enemies to both, and will sacrifice every private Interest to destroy both.

A Community, as a whole, is nothing more than an Aggregate of Individuals; it follows therefore that the Prosperity of the Individuals, in Proportion to the Degree of Prosperity, and the Number of the Individuals, is the Prosperity of the whole; and that the Poverty, Distress, and Disadvantages of Individuals, in the same Proportion, is the Poverty, Distress, and Disadvantages of the whole: It will therefore readily be granted, that the Number of Papists in *Ireland* being to the Number of Protestants, as at least three to one, the Disadvantages of the Papists, are, in a very great Proportion, Disadvantages to the Community; and that the Community would be more flourishing than at present, in the same Proportion, if all its Members were admitted to equal Advantages. But what then? the Inference is, that it would be better for *Ireland* if all its Inhabitants were Protestants, not that it would be better for *Ireland* to treat its Popish Inhabitants as if they were Protestants. The political Principles that are interwoven with the very Essence of Popery, make it absolutely necessary, in a State where Papists so much outnumber-

number Protestants, to lay them under Disadvantages, which render them less useful, to avoid worse Evils. Popery Laws, and among others, that in Question, are not to be judged by their Effect upon Society *per se*, but by their Effect relative to the Evils which they obviate; they do certainly prevent public Prosperity to a certain Degree, and so does every Tax upon home Manufactures, and the Necessaries of Life; yet while there are hostile Powers, who, if we were not defended by Fleets and Armies, would put an End to our Liberty and Independence; it is best, upon the whole, that these Taxes should be levied, for the Maintenance of such Armies and Fleets; so while there are at least three Papists for every Protestant in *Ireland*, who, if not restrained by Popery Laws, would totally overballance the Protestant Interest, and at length wholly subvert it, it is best upon the whole, that these Laws should operate in their full Force, notwithstanding they may, in some Degree, repress national Industry, and prevent national Wealth. It would be as easy to show in a florid and popular Harangue, how much more *England* would flourish without Taxes to pay the Interest of One Hundred and Forty Millions, as how much more *Ireland* would flourish if all
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its Inhabitants could be admitted to equal national Advantages ; but as it would be absurd to infer in one Case, that now the Debt is contracted, the public Creditors ought not to be paid their Interest, so it is absurd, in an equal Degree, to infer in the other, that two-thirds of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* being by Principle Enemies to the Ecclesiastical and Political Constitution of the Kingdom, they should notwithstanding be intrusted with the same Power as if they were its Friends.

If it is said, that the Advocates for this Bill do not contend for the Papists having all the Power and Influence that Protestants have, it may reasonably be asked why not ? They would certainly be proportionably more useful to the State, and the Argument urged against the Law to be now repealed, may be more forcibly urged against all the Popery Laws in being : If they answer, that Papists ought not to be trusted with the Power which they must acquire by being enabled to be thus useful, they answer well ; and thus we also answer their Pretences of Advantage from the Law in Question.

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They may also be asked, whether they are of Opinion, that the Popery Laws were expedient at the Time they were made; if they say yes, they will alledge as a Reason, that we were then in more Danger from the Papists than now: But according to the Arguments they bring in Favour of the Bill in question, the Popery Laws were for that very Reason less necessary, nay were pernicious: They say, that by passing the present Bill, and giving them the temporary Possession of Land, we obtain a Pledge for their good Behaviour, and secure them to the State, by blending their Interest with it; surely then, this Pledge was most necessary when their Conduct was most doubtful, and the Crisis was such, as was most likely to put it to the Test: It was surely most necessary to blend their Interest with that of the State when they were most likely to be tempted to engage against it.

There is indeed in the whole of what is said in Favour of the Bill, an Inconsistency with which Truth and Rectitude are never embarrassed; its Advocates are very zealous to make Papists Tenants of Lands by Elegit, that the

Government may have a Pledge for their good Behaviour, but they are equally zealous to shew, that they will obtain Possession of Lands upon no Title or Tenure more ample and durable ; but if our having a Pledge is an Argument for their being Tenants by Elegit, which is avowed, it is a stronger Argument for their having absolute Possession which is disavowed ; in both Cases the Power and Influence given to the Papists, is in exact Proportion to the Advantages pretended to result from them ; if it is not expedient to give them Power as Ten, to produce a Security that is as Ten, it is not expedient to give them Power as Two, to produce a Security that is as Two : This however is a mere Argument *ad Hominem*, for it has been proved that giving a Papist an Interest in the State, is no Security at all.

In Proportion to the Inconveniencies and Disadvantages resulting from so great a Proportion of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* being Papists, it is necessary to prevent, by all possible Means, the Growth of Popery : We must therefore content ourselves with deriving such Advantages to the Community, from the Popish Part of it, as are consistent with a Situation, in which there are
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such Discouragements, as will at least prevent its Encrease. The fewer Persons there are in a Community, whom it is necessary to lay under Restrictions that prevent their general Usefulness, the better.

That the Hand of Government should not slacken in restraining the Growth of Popery, will appear to Demonstration from a View of the present State of that Religion in the Kingdom.

In the first Place it is publicly and universally professed and celebrated ; its Rites and Ceremonies are kept up throughout the whole Country, and certainly a Toleration of that Kind should be allowed. The Papists are not only connected by the general Tie of the Religion that acknowledges the Pope for its common Father and Head, with the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, but there is not a Family in the Island that has not a Relation in the Church, in the Army, or in Trade in those Countries ; and in order to qualify the Children for foreign Service, they are all taught *Latin* in Schools kept in poor Huts, in many Places in the Southern Part of the Kingdom. They have such Influence over their own People, that when Papist Tenants, at

Pleasure to Protestant Gentlemen, have been threatened with being turned out of their Lands for combining with others to distress the Ministers of the Established Church : They have replied, that it was better to be turned out of their Lands than to have their Throats cut ; which would be the Case if they refused to concur with others.

The Number of Papists is also greater than it was in the Rebellion in 1681, except only among the Nobility and Gentlemen of large landed Property ; that the Number among these is gradually decreased, may in many Cases be owing to Conviction, but it may sometimes happen, that it is owing to the many disadvantages they labour under as Papists, being greater than the Disadvantages of the middling and lower Classes ; for as Zeal for Religion is no more hereditary than Wit or Understanding, when a Father who had his Religion at Heart, was succeeded by a Son who was indifferent about it, such Son immediately secured to himself the Advantages annexed to Members of the established Church ; this surely is an Argument, that if possible the same Advantage should be offered to those who are possessed
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of Money, as to those who are possessors of Land ; not because the present Papists would perhaps sacrifice their Duty to their Interest, but because their Descendants may not think Popery equally their Duty, and they will then be inclined to relinquish it in proportion to the Advantages they shall secure by the Change. The Bill proposed on the Contrary will make these Advantages still less, by giving them as Papists Part of the Benefits which otherwise they could only obtain by being Papists no longer.

Add to this, that while the popish Priests are maintained in a State which gives them a proper Influence over their People, and are indefatigable in performing the Duties of their Functions, confirming the Doubtful, and even making Converts of Unbelievers ; the established Church are shamefully neglected by their Clergy, who consider nothing but how to make the most Money of their Benefices, leaving their Income to be collected by Tythe-Mongers, who grind the Faces of the Poor by every Species of Oppression, and send the Money away to the Rectors, who instead of applying any Part of it to Acts of Charity
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and Hospitality, do not so much as lay it out among those from whom it is collected. It will indeed appear, that if the Parish Priests of *Ireland* did their Duty to the utmost, the established Religion could not be supported against the Zeal, Diligence and Activity of the Sectaries of various Denominations.

There are in *Ireland*, 2300 Parishes, yet the Benefices are no more than 800, and this Number by incorporating two Benefices into one is reduced to 600, so that almost three Parishes in four are without Ministers by the very ecclesiastical Establishment of the Country ; but more than half of the 600 Ministers allotted to 2300 Parishes are non-resident, and it sometimes happens that all that are non-resident, do not even employ a Curate to supply their Place, so that it is reported, that there are not more than 550 officiating Clergy of the Church of *England* in the whole Kingdom, and the greater Part of these are poor miserable Curates, whose whole Income at the most is but forty Pounds a Year, and who have neither Leisure, Means nor Ability to discharge their parochial Duties ; nor indeed have they the least Encouragement ; for if they were the best
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Parish Ministers that ever lived, a Relation or a Dependent to a Bishop, or a great Man, would be preferr'd to them ; they are therefore often oblig'd to have Recourse to farming for a Subsistence, so that both their Persons and their Office are brought into the lowest Contempt, and it is extremely common for Persons of the established Church to join with the Papists and Presbyterians in clamorous, violent and tumultuous Oppositions against those who exact what are called Church Dues, for the Use of those by whom no Church Duties are performed.—How far this might have Influenced the late Risings in the *North*, the Author of this Paper cannot pretend to say, as he was during the whole Time of those Insurrections in *England*.

Is this then a Time to suspend any of the Laws, which by the Wisdom of our Ancestors have been enacted to prevent the Growth of Popery ? Is this a Time to execute a Project for making Protestants Debtors to Papists in One fifth of all the Specie in the Kingdom, and to put them eventually into Possession of Lands, which though not irredeemable will yet never be redeemed ! Is this a Time to fill Farms with Papist Tenants under Papist Landlords ? To turn adrift the Protestant Husbandman,
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and restrain the Protestant Magistrate ! Popery notwithstanding the Laws now in Being, is still growing, and instead of suspending any Law to prevent such Growth, it is manifest that other Regulations are necessary, particularly with respect to the Church, its Duties and Revenues, for at present they are so managed as equally to excite the Contempt and Indignation of those who have the most zealous Affection and profoundest Reverence both for its Doctrine and Discipline in their original Purity and Simplicity, Vigilance and good Order.

As the Question has here been discussed upon fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence and Policy, and upon a large and comprehensive View of its radical Tendency and Consequences, it will not be expected that a minute Attention should be paid to those who have frittered it into Scraps, and assumed Propositions, which if granted, would conclude nothing in Favour of their Cause. He that is busy in minutely tracking the Motions of an Enmet that crawls from Atom to Atom upon the Declivity of a Mountain, will never be able to comprehend either its Figure or its Magnitude, nor can this Question be either elucidated or determined by a Refutation of
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what would signify nothing if it was true, or a Censure of what is manifestly false.

We have been told that Papists have large Sums in Hand which they will not lend, because they are not enabled to take Security; and yet that these Papists have lent such Sums already, to an Amount which will ruin the Protestants if they call them in.

We have been told also, that they will instantly call such Sums in, if their Bill miscarries: We are to conclude therefore that the Continuance of the very Circumstances, under which they lent their Money, will induce them all on a sudden to call it in, now it is lent.

We are also told, that a Papist who is getting Money in Trade, will cease to get Money any longer, because he will not know what to do with it when it is gotten.

That *England* would find no Resources to quell a Rebellion in *Ireland*, if *Irish* Rebels have Nothing to forfeit.

E

And

And that because an *Irish* Papist does his Duty as a Soldier against the *French*, where neither his Religion nor Politics are concerned in the Issue, he will do his Duty as a Subject, when both are at Stake against it.

Many other Things equally wonderful we have been told, some strange, because they are absurd, others, because they are self evident; for we are scarce less surprized to be told gravely, that two and two are four, than that two and two are five.

The Author of this Paper is prompted not less by his Benevolence to Papists than to Protestants, considering them as Men, Countrymen, and Fellow-subjects; he is an Enemy only to those Principles which necessarily seclude them from Benefits to which, without them, they would be admitted: He is an Enemy to the Encrease of their Power, not less for their own Sake than for the Sake of those who would first suffer by its Abuse, for whatever Calamity Papists may bring upon this Country, by a Struggle to subvert its Constitution, they would inevitably be at length involved in themselves, to the Extirpation not only of their Principles, but

but to the Loss even of Life and Fortune, which will ever be held sacred, except they make their own Destruction necessary by the first and greatest of all Laws and Duties, Self-Defence.

T H E E N D.

but to the loss even of life and fortune
which will ever be held sacred, except they
make their own Defence necessary by the
right and greatness of all Laws and Justice, 317
Defence.

THE END.

